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ABSTRACT

Against the background of current educational retrenchment and general economic crisis, this report traces the economic, social, political and educational influences that shape contemporary Canada. The instability of the economy and its domination by the United States, the transformation from a bicultural into a multicultural society, women's liberation, and the problems of regional disparity are identified as the major issues of the 1980s. Quebec nationalism and growing regional loyalties are, in fact, posing a threat to confederation. In tracing the structural history of the educational system, the author demonstrates that public opinion is playing an ever increasing role in decision-making. The historical development of educational programs and curricula reveals a progressive trend through the 1970s, although this has recently been decelerated to allow for decentralization of curriculum construction, which more adequately meets local needs. (WD)

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ALBERT FIORINO

MARCH, 1978

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ALBERT FIORINO

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CANADA IN PROCESS: A CONTEMPORARY OVERVIEW

by

A. Fiorino

Introduction

Contemporary Canada can be aptly described as a country in process. During the last quarter of a century, the process has been especially accentuated and made more visible by an unstable national economy, dependent on an equally insecure international market. The economy has fluctuated from periods of high expansionary activity during the post-war years until the mid 1950's and for most of the 1960's, to a period of contraction in the second half of the 1950's, and gloom for a major part of the 1970's. These instabilities have not only forced most Canadians to make repeatedly unexpected short-term personal adjustments, but have also forced Canada as a whole to confront some very fundamental issues relating to its survival as a country.

One of these issues is the problem of regional disparity. Over the years, not all the provinces experienced the same degree of economic development on account of, in some cases, poor geographic location and resource base, and in others, for political and cultural reasons. The province of Quebec falls under the latter category. Indeed, its slow economic development, especially in the 1950's and early 1960's can be said to be a major cause of the separatist movement, which now poses a real threat to Canadian unity. Other issues include the question of Canadian nationalism which surfaced early in the 1970's over the feat of American domination of the Canadian economy, and the matter concerning the patriation and amendment of the constitution as one possible means of resolving some of the problems that are threatening to undermine Canadian federalism.

Contemporary Canada has also experienced two very significant social developments, viz., its transformation from a bicultural into a multicultural society, caused by a heavy influx of immigrants from all over the world during periods of economic well-being, and the emancipation of its female population.

These are the major economic and political issues and social developments on which this overview of contemporary Canada in process

will focus. However, before this is done, it is necessary to narrate the sad story of a troubled Canadian economy.

The Story of a Troubled Economy

On December 17, 1977, the headline on the front page of the insight section of The Toronto Star read "Slump of '77: Canada must save herself."[1] The article was occasioned by the rise in the unemployment rate to 8.4 percent, the highest it has ever been since the Great Depression. Despite its accuracy about the slump Canada is presently experiencing, the headline is somewhat misleading since it implies that Canada can at will perform a salvific act either through legislation or the introduction of a new economic policy. If that were only possible! The legislation and the fiscal policies introduced in recent years have served only to mollify rather than reduce significantly the country's economic slumps. One questions the efficacy of any individual initiative taken in an effort to resolve a problem which is not only national and continental but also international in character.

It would seem that up until recent years most Canadians, still somewhat embarrassed about their country's close ties with the United States, were reluctant to acknowledge seriously Canada's economic dependency on an international market. Moved by a resurgence of a spirit of nationalism in the early 1970's, these Canadians conveniently suppressed the very conditions which facilitated Canada's industrial expansion and growth during the first half of the 1950's, viz., a favourable export market in post-war Europe, embarked on a program of reconstruction and recovery; an expansion of exports to the United States in the form of agricultural products, raw materials, and semi-finished products; the trend towards free trade formalized and promoted by the establishment of the International Monetary Fund and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade; and the inflow of foreign capital made necessary by Canada's depleting domestic savings and encouraged by attractively higher interest rates determined by

[1] John Doig, The Toronto Star, p. C1.

government policy. Thus, a healthy export market and a constant flow of foreign investment permitted Canada to develop its own secondary industries, which were further maintained by an abundance of raw materials, diversified by the discovery of oil and natural gas in the West and uranium in Ontario, and in general, supported by the demands of a dynamic and evolving industrial society Canada was becoming.

Post-war prosperity continued as long as these conditions prevailed. However, by the mid 1950's, Europe had already achieved a recovery, thus becoming less dependent on Canadian exports. The United States, which by the late 1950's constituted over 60 percent of Canada's export market, suffered a recession beginning in 1957, causing a corresponding setback in the Canadian economy. During the same period, domestic markets were being infiltrated by highly competitive imports from non-American sources. The situation was further aggravated by the continuous inflow of American capital, which tended to have an inflationary effect on the economy accompanied by rising unemployment which in 1961 was over 7 percent. The recession lasted approximately from 1957 to 1961, experiencing an abortive recovery in 1958-1959.

The 1960's were a period of readjustment and relative economic growth and stability.Faced with the creation in 1959 of the Common Market, officially known as the European Economic Community, with possible British participation and the realization of this country's seemingly unhealthy dependence on the United States, Canada embarked on a program of diversification of its export market and protection of its domestic market. Thus, important wheat sales were made to communist countries; the Canadian dollar was devalued as an incentive to foreign buyers and investors; tax incentives were given to manufacturing and processing companies to encourage them to expand their operations to areas of slow growth and high unemployment; and incentives were granted to the automobile industry in order to secure for Canada a greater share of production from the U.S. The latter led eventually to the signing in 1965 of the U.S.-Canada auto pact. By 1964, Canada's exports to the U.S. had dropped from a high of 62

percent in 1959 to a low of 53 percent. However, as the U.S. economy expanded in the latter part of the 1960's, so did Canada's export and import trade with it. By 1970, the U.S. received approximately 70 percent of Canada's exports and provided approximately 70 percent of all Canadian imports. And so Canada became once more dependent on the U.S. economy.

The 1960's witnessed the economic well-being of most developed countries. There was an overall increase in international trade and capital flow, an expansion in multinational corporations, a greater dissemination of new knowledge and technology, and a significant migration of professional and skilled manpower. Most importantly, countries became more deeply aware of the increasing international economic interdependence developing among them. During the 1960's, these conditions prompted and facilitated the achievement of significant progress and co-operation in the area of international economic planning. This included, among others, the establishment of growth targets by the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), the Kennedy Round of tariff negotiations under the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the creation of a system of Special Drawing Rights under the International Monetary Fund, and the formation of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development.

As the 1960's were drawing to a close, the Canadian economy began experiencing strong price increases, particularly in food and non-durable products, and high wage demands from labour -- developments which were influenced considerably by parallel behaviour in the U.S. Thus, in 1969, the consumer price index rose to 4.5 percent, compared to 4.1 percent the previous year; and the average wage base rose by 7.6 percent, compared with 6.6 percent in 1968. In response to these inflationary trends, the Federal Government immediately introduced a program of voluntary price and wage restraint, among which was the creation of the Price and Incomes Commission in May, 1969. The Commission was to function as an independent body whose task was threefold: to act in an advisory capacity to the Government on problems and causes of inflation, to promote a better understanding of the dangers of inflation in the community at large, and to win

the support of both labour and business for its program. In 1970, food prices did go down and the inflation rate was contained at 4.1 percent, and credit for this can be given, at least in part, to the work of the Commission. However, by the second quarter of 1971, the annual rate of increase rose to 4.8 percent and the wage-base rates rose from 7.6 percent in 1969 to 8.4 percent. Adding to the evolving bleak picture of the economy was the significant increase in the unemployment rate caused by decreasing productivity and an expanding labour force, especially in the age group under 25. The unemployment rate rose from about 5 percent in 1969 to approximately 6.8 percent in 1970.

In the third quarter of 1970, there was an upswing in economic activity caused primarily by an acceleration in domestic demand and gross investments. The recovery continued until the first quarter of 1974. Despite the recovery, the inflation rate remained moderately high. Moreover, during these years, the unemployment rate remained unaffected by the high productivity growth. Owing to demographic trends and increases in the participation rates in the labour force, unemployment was kept at a high level, averaging 6.3 percent in 1972.

The short expansion period came to an abrupt end early in 1974, which witnessed a drop in productivity and domestic demand. These developments were caused directly by a sudden weakening in Canada's foreign market, which had been shocked and paralyzed by the quadrupling of oil prices in the latter days of 1973. The prices were periodically increased throughout 1974. No other single incident in recent history has so forcefully demonstrated the dependence of Canada's economic stability on the well-being of an international market than the unexpected rise in the price of oil effected by the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). The increases in oil prices caused the development of huge balance of payments deficits in most oil importing countries dependent on OPEC sources; it decelerated productivity; accelerated the already rapidly rising rate of inflation into the two-figure level; and deteriorated further the employment picture throughout the developed and developing countries in the West.

One important positive result from the crisis was the spirit of co-operation that it quickly generated among oil-consuming countries concerned about the short-term and long-term supply and price of oil. In November, 1974, this spirit of co-operation materialized with the establishment of a sixteen-member International Energy Agency (IEA), including Canada, attached with OECD, for the purpose of developing strategies for coping with both immediate and future energy-related problems resulting from either the curtailment of energy supplies, such as oil, or increases in oil prices. Moreover, in October, 1974, a joint International Monetary Fund-World Bank Development Committee, of which Canada was also a member, was formed in order to determine ways of augmenting the flow of resources to developing countries and of assisting those most seriously affected by the increases in oil prices to cope with their balance of payment deficits without arresting their development program.

The direct effect of the increases in oil prices on the Canadian economy was mixed. On the one hand, since Canada is more an exporter than an importer of crude petroleum, the increases in the price of oil tended to improve its trade balance. On the other hand, they have had the unfavourable impact of decreasing consumer expenditures on oil-related products or oil dependent (directly or indirectly) commodities, thus lowering domestic demand. Reduced domestic demand has meant reduced productivity and output which fell in the first quarter of 1975 by 5 3/4 percent. In general, the periodic hikes in the price of oil by OPEC and corresponding increases in the price of Canadian oil and their concomitant effects have caused the development of an inflationary psychology intensified, initially, by the uncertainty regarding the future stability of oil prices, and later, by the obvious difficulties the Federal Government and the governments of the countries affected were having in making the readjustments required by a troubled international economy. Furthermore, unemployment which had dropped to a still undesirable 5.3 percent at the end of 1974 had by March, 1975 increased to 7.2 percent. This was attributable, in part, to the continuing expansion of the secondary labour force (females and males under 25). By the fourth quarter of 1975, the unemployment picture was not too promising and

would by mid 1977 reach 8 percent.

The recession which commenced in the second quarter of 1974 came to an end in the second quarter of 1975 as a result of renewed domestic demand and consumption and by a gradually improving export market. Nevertheless, prices and wage demands continued to rise. In an attempt to halt these raging fires of inflation, on October 13, 1975, the Trudeau Government instituted enforceable guidelines to prices, profits, wages, professional fees, and dividends. This compulsory program was to be administered by an Anti-Inflation Board (AIB) and extend over a three-year period until 1978. Although the provincial governments were not obliged to participate in the program, in time they all elected to co-operate, in varying degrees, with the efforts of the central government. During the first twelve months of operation, the inflation rate was contained around 8 percent, a feat which was attributable to a large extent to the control exercised by the Board. Despite their apparent success in checking inflation, the guidelines were subject to severe criticism and opposition from both labour and business. Confrontation over the guidelines continued until the last quarter of 1977 when the Government announced that the controls were to be lifted in April, 1978.

Notwithstanding the apparent recovery from the latest recession, as 1977 came to an end an atmosphere of general uncertainty about Canada's economic prospects for the New Year prevailed over the country. Inflation remained at a still relatively high rate of 7 percent; the real growth rate was about 4.5 percent, dropping below the potential output rate of about 5 percent; and the unemployment rate reached a new-time high of 8.4 percent. As was the case in most developed countries in the West, Canada's economic performance was disappointing. Moreover, the prospects for all these countries, as well as for Canada, were not promising.

The Problem of Regional Disparity

No overview of Canada's economic condition is complete without some discussion of the existence of wide regional disparities in the country. Economists have divided Canada into six major regions:

the Atlantic provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland), Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie provinces (Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta), British Columbia, and the North (Yukon and the Northwest Territories). Owing to such factors as geographic location, climate, the availability of natural resources, the composition and characteristics of the labour force, each of these regions has over the years experienced different rates of economic growth and development. Of all the regions, Ontario, with its abundance of natural resources, ideal market location, a rich supply of skilled manpower, and a highly evolved and diversified industrial technology, has benefited the most during periods of growth and suffered the least during phases of recession. The economic primacy of Ontario has been unsurmountable, though in recent years Alberta, with its windfall of oil profits and expansion of its secondary industries, has posed a challenge. Apart from the North, which remains for the most part underdeveloped, the most disadvantaged of the regions has been the Atlantic provinces, which possess few natural resources, poor climate, and remote markets. In addition, they are hindered by an unreliable labour force that has the highest migration rate in the country.

Manitoba's diversified resource base has been sufficiently strong to sustain an adequate rate of industrial productivity and development. However, the same cannot be said of its western neighbour Saskatchewan with its heavy reliance on the one-resource base of agriculture. British Columbia, like Ontario, is rich in natural resources and in recent years has benefited greatly from her expanded trade market with Japan.

Despite its ideal market location and a rich diversified resource base, Quebec's economic performance, especially in the 1960's, has been disappointing. Industrial advancement has been comparatively slow, retarded, at least in part, in the 1950's and early 1960's by a school system which has traditionally placed great emphasis on a classical rather than a technical or business education. This imbalance has since been rectified through the reforms introduced in the late 1960's based on the recommendations made by the Royal

Commission of Inquiry on Education (the Parent Commission, 1961-1966). In the 1970's, economic growth has been hampered by decreases in business investment, especially from external sources, discouraged primarily by separatist trends in the province.

The problem of regionalism, which was the object of much political concern during the early 1960's, and the whole question of Quebec nationalism have as their major root cause the existence of regional economic disparity. Indeed, it was the exploitation of this problem, couched in very convincing political rhetoric, coupled with the reality of a troubled economy (and some alleged mismanagement on the part of the Bourassa government) that on November 15, 1976 motivated the people of Quebec to elect the Parti Quebecois with its goal of political independence for Quebec as the government of the province. In light of the uncertainty prevailing over all sectors of society, it is difficult to determine whether sovereignty is the answer to Quebec's economic ills. In view of the increasing economic interdependence of Western countries and in view of the pattern that has evolved in recent years towards the development among these same countries of higher forms of political and economic association, organization, and co-operation, the establishment of another sovereign state in North America may not only be undesirable but also retrogressive in its effect on these trends. If these developments are desirable and worthy of promotion, then, some other solution must be found to enable the people of Quebec to benefit justly and equitably from their participation in Confederation. The need for such a solution is made more urgent by the expression of similar aspirations for sovereignty by other regions of the country (e.g., the Prairie provinces and British Columbia).

The intent of the foregoing discussion has not been to imply that Ottawa has been blind or unconcerned about the problem of regional disparities. In recent history, the Government has made some attempt to cope with it, for example, by the introduction of a system of equalization payments to the provinces, the establishment in 1969 of the Department of Regional and Economic Expansion, the development of manpower programs to meet regional needs, and the

indexing of unemployment insurance benefits in accordance with regional unemployment rates. The apparent limited effect of these efforts demonstrates that in addition to the achievement of a stable national economy, some fundamental solutions of a political or constitutional nature are required to deal adequately with this problem.

Important Political Developments

The state of both regional and national economies has been a key factor during the past decade in the determination of major political and social developments.

Politically, besides being itself the object of much concern, the state of the economy has acted as a catalyst in resuscitating before Canadians' minds several basic interrelated issues, namely, Quebec nationalism, Canadian nationalism, and the patriation of the constitution. The last ten years have brought neither a significant improvement in the economy nor a major resolution of these issues. Nonetheless, these issues have been and still are the focus of much attention and concern in Canadian politics.

Ultimately, all the above issues must be viewed in relation to the subjective search of Canadians for self-identity within the context of the objective political reality that Canada constitutes, that is, a federation -- a federal system of government in which powers and responsibilities are distributed between the central government and the provincial governments for the intent and purpose of promoting and protecting both regional and collective interests. In principle, this would appear to be the ideal form of government for a country such as Canada, encompassing a vast number of geographic divisions and socio-cultural differences. However, in actual practice, it has not always been an easy matter to maintain the right balance in which all interests have been accommodated with equity. Quebec nationalism can be seen as a reflection of the failure to achieve such a balance. The matter is further complicated by the fact that the Canadian constitution still remains an Act of the British Parliament. Its patriation has itself been the subject of

much controversy and debate during this period.

It was in the wake of an apparent shift in the balance of power in Canadian federalism towards more provincial autonomy and in the midst of the mounting tides of Quebec separatism that in 1965 Pierre Elliott Trudeau entered politics as a member of the Federal Liberal Party. As a staunch federalist, Trudeau brought a refreshingly definitive approach to Party issues, and as both assistant to Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson and subsequently as Minister of Justice, he played a very important role in shaping the government's constitutional policy. Thus, when Pearson resigned as leader of what was becoming an ineffective minority government, the Party had an ideal candidate to replace him in the person of Trudeau, who could effectively address the Canadian people in both languages about pertinent issues and win their support. Immediately upon assuming the leadership of the Party in April, 1968, Trudeau called a June election. Basing his campaign on the theme of "one Canada," he fought and won the election with a convincing majority (Liberals 155 seats, Conservatives 72, New Democratic Party 22, and the Creditistes 14). With the election of Trudeau, federalism and thus Canadian unity had found an articulate spokesman and a valiant champion.

On the other hand, propcnents of Quebec nationalism found an old foe in the new Prime Minister. Firmly believing that it was through democratic reforms that Quebec could participate more fully in Confederation, Trudeau opposed the autocratic regime of Duplessis during the 1950's. In 1960, disappointed with the nationalist trends in the socialist movement with which he had been associated, Trudeau urged the readers of Cite Libre (a journal of which he was co-founder) to support the Provincial Liberal Party under the leadership of Jean Lesage.

With the overthrow of Duplessis' Union Nationale Party, the new Lesage government undertook a very comprehensive program of governmental and educational reforms which tended to accelerate development and social progress in the province. But instead of subduing separatist sentiments, these new developments inspired further

nationalist feelings by providing glimpses of what Quebec could become through the full utilization of its human and natural resources. In the late 1950's, Rene Levesque, Lesage's Minister of Natural Resources, had issued the warning that unless there were some radical reforms made in the federal system, Quebec would separate from Canada. In 1966, the Lesage government was defeated by the Union Nationale under the leadership of Daniel Johnson, who personally assumed the task of seeking a better deal for Quebec from Ottawa. Johnson's demands led to the calling of the federal-provincial conferences to study the constitution. It was at these conferences that the then Minister of Justice Pierre Elliott Trudeau took a strong stand against constitutional changes, while at the same time he assured Johnson that the language rights of every French-speaking person in all parts of Canada would be guaranteed and protected by law. Trudeau honoured this promise in 1969 with the passage through Parliament of the Official Languages Act. These federal-provincial conferences also led in 1971 to the elabouration of the Victoria Charter which contained, among other clauses, an amendment formula for the patriation of the constitution. However, the Charter was rejected by Quebec on the basis that in the area of social policy the proposed jurisdictional changes in favour of the provinces were not extensive enough.

In 1967, Canada's centennial year, nationalist feelings in Quebec were intensified by General de Gaulle's visit to the province. Caught up in the centennial festivities and the nationalist feelings that they generated, the General spontaneously, but quite inappropriately under the circumstances, proclaimed "Vive le Quebec libre." Thereafter, it became clear that the separatist movement in Quebec had entered a new phase. Extremists groups that had been engaged in sporadic terror since 1963 began taking more radical measures culminating in 1970 in the October crisis, during which Quebec Cabinet Minister Pierre Laporte was kidnapped and murdered. By this time, Rene Levesque had left the Provincial Liberal Party and formed the Parti Quebecois, which combined both socialist and liberal elements and whose primary objective was the secession of Quebec from

Confederation. All these developments were indicating to the rest of Canada that what Quebec wanted was not simply the recognition and protection of the individual linguistic and cultural rights of its people, but the acknowledgement of a distinctive role, a special status within Confederation.

In the early 1960's, the Pearson government had moved in this direction by making some concessions to Quebec over the Canada Pension Plan agreement. In 1963, concerned about the separatist trends in the province, Pearson established the Dunton-Laurendeau Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, which, even though it did not arrest the separatist movement, did make Canadians more aware of the problem. But with the election of a Liberal majority government in 1968, Quebec was faced with a central government that was intensely committed to a federalist system which excluded any special treatment of any province. Furthermore, it was faced with a Prime Minister who abhorred the very idea of nationalism.

Trudeau has maintained the view that nationalism has been a primary cause of the "most devastating wars, the worst atrocities" of the last two centuries.[2] He contends that nationalism has the tendency of subordinating individual freedom to ideological abstractions regarding the nation-state. Trudeau looks forward to the day when nationalism is completely eradicated from the face of the globe. He writes:

> Thus there is some hope that in advanced societies, the glue of nationalism will become obsolete as the divine right of kings; the title of the state to govern and the extent of its authority will be conditional upon rational justification; a people's consensus based on reason will supply the cohesive force that societies require; and politics both from within and without the state will follow a much more functional approach to problems of government. If politicians must bring emotions into the act, let them get emotional about functionalism.[3]

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[2]Pierre Elliott Trudeau, Federalism and the French Canadians, p. 157.

[3]Pierre Elliott Trudeau, "Federalism, Nationalism and Reason," in P.A. Crepeau and C.B. Macpherson, eds., The Future of Canadian Federalism, p. 28.

Trudeau is convinced that only a living and functioning federalism can supplant the forces of nationalism. Only a federal state, with power divided between different levels of government, can accommodate the different cultural and political groups that co-exist whenever people live in society. These views do not only express a particular political philosophy, but also Trudeau's perception of Canada as a federal state, a heterogenous society.

Regardless of Trudeau's persistent defence of Canadian federalism, the forces of Quebec separatism made a most significant advance in the 1970's. The recurrent economic recession undermined the Bourassa government's efforts at reducing inflation and unemployment. As noted earlier, on November 15, 1976, the people of Quebec showed their discontent with the Liberals' poor performance by electing Rene Levesque and his Parti Quebecois to form the next government. After the election, one of Levesque's first announcement was that his government would hold a referendum on the question of Quebec secession from Canada within two years. The referendum will be held and at that time Canadians, regardless of the outcome, will be forced to reflect anew upon their country's future and meaning.

Canadian Nationalism

In the early 1970's, there was an upsurge in Canadian nationalism, but it was not, as one would expect, a latent effect of the country's centennial celebration of 1967. Instead, it was the result principally of a growing awareness by Canadians of the American domination of their country's economy. The Trudeau government responded, somewhat belatedly, by taking a series of steps designed to control the further expansion of U.S. interests in Canada. The Government introduced measures to block takeover bids of oil and uranium mining by American companies. This was followed in 1971 by the establishment of the long-awaited Canada Development Corporation "to ensure that Canadian-owned enterprises remain in Canadian hands," by the channelling of Canadian savings into the development of domestic industries.[4]

[4] Canada, View from Ottawa. Index for 1971, p. 299.

Meanwhile, the Government appointed a task force headed by Herb Tray to study and report on the whole question of foreign ownership. In May, 1971, a report was issued as a Memorandum to the Cabinet, entitled "Domestic Control of the National Economic Environment: The Problems of Foreign Ownership and Control."[5] The report's major recommendation was the establishment of a "screening agency" for the monitoring of takeover bids and all direct foreign investment in light of their overall effect on the Canadian economy and, in particular, regional development. A Bill proposing the establishment of a Foreign Investment Review Agency was passed under a Liberal minority government and received royal assent on December 12, 1973.

Another important contribution of the report was its examination of the impact American domination of the country's economy had on Canadian cultural life. It argued most emphatically that economic activity has a "profound impact" on culture, which translated to mean that over the years Canada had been importing, along with U.S. investments and technology, the American way of life, which tended to suppress the development of an indigenous cultural activity in Canada. In subsequent years, concern about American domination of Canadian culture found expression in a national movement which aimed at reducing American influence in those public institutions most closely associated with the production of a national culture, i.e., radio and television, the publishing industries, the schools, and the universities. Along more positive lines, the movement has generated a variety of cultural activities across the country, reflecting the multicultural components of Canadian society.

The economic nationalism of the early 1970's has since subsided. Nevertheless, the question regarding the relationship between cultural identity and economic independence is still relevant since it poses, in turn, some very important questions about Canadian federalism. Can Canada as a whole achieve a high degree of cultural differentiation from other countries without first achieving control over its economic affairs? Similarly, can all the various ethnic

[5] For an edited version of this report see The Canadian Forum, December, 1971.

groups in the different regions of Canada pursue and achieve their own distinctive cultural identity without first attaining control over their respective economy? If the premise underlying these questions is tenable, namely, that economic independence is a necessary precondition for the pursuit and achievement of a cultural identity, then the further question should be asked regarding whether or not the federal system of government as presently defined in the constitution is adequate to enable Canada to develop a cultural identity which will reflect the reality of its heterogenous composition. The existence of Quebec nationalism and recurrent regionalism is an indication that the present system is in need of some reform. To achieve the latter, the patriation of the constitution is desirable. Finally, all these questions must be posed against the backdrop of a world federalist movement, as reflected in the international political and economic interdependencies that have developed in recent history.

Significant Social Changes

Socially, the state of the economy has provided the necessary preconditions that have permitted the occurrence of certain significant social developments. Two important developments that will be considered here briefly are the marked change in the social composition of Canada's population, caused directly by the heavy inflow of immigrants during the last quarter of a century; and the social emancipation of Canadian women, facilitated by their greater participation in the labour force. Each of these developments has had over the years both a quantitative and qualitative effect on the social life of the country. It should be noted also that their full impact on the Canadian socio-cultural process still remains to be felt and that may very well be contingent upon the future progress of the country's economy.

A sympathetic regard for post-war conditions in Europe and a confident economic climate motivated the Canadian government to admit approximately 1,200,000 immigrants between 1946 and 1955. This was followed by an additional 164,857 in 1956, and a record-breaking high in 1957 of 282,164 among whom were included thousands of Hungarian

refugees and British immigrants in search of a new home following the aftermath of the Suez crisis. From 1958 to 1961 there was a sharp decline due to a downswing in the economy. However, as the economy expanded during most of the 1960's, new waves of immigrants flooded the country. Thus, between 1958 and 1970 approximately 2,027,680 more immigrants were admitted, bringing the total between 1946 and 1970 to well over three million. Some of the major source countries of this immigration were, in order of the size of their contribution: Britain, Italy, Germany, United States, The Netherlands, Poland, France, Portugal, Austria, Hungary, and China.

Apart from the social problems resulting from a somewhat liberal administration of the sponsored program, immigration has played an important role in Canada's economic development by providing it with a highly skilled and professionally qualified work force. Moreover, during the 1950's, immigrants in the 20-29 age group helped fill the vacuum created by the low birth rate of the 1930's. The problems associated with the sponsored movement were checked by the introduction in 1967 of new immigration regulations which, in addition to establishing a series of selection criteria for admission, connected the immigration policy to manpower demands.

The new immigration regulations of 1967 reflected the realization on the part of the Federal Government of the need for administrative control and planning in the field of immigration. The need for such measures was in subsequent years further reinforced by a rapidly contracting economy. Thus, in recent years discussion of Canada's immigration policy has focused on its determination not only in light of manpower demands but, most importantly, in relationship to both the overall needs and capabilities of Canadian society and Canada's responsibility to an overcrowded world. This is the view supported and promoted by Freda Hawkins in her book Canada and Immigration. Public Policy and Public Concern(1972). There she writes:

> ...serious thought should now be given to the development of a population policy for Canada related to our future political, social, and environmental needs and to the role which immigration should play within it. Immigration must be considered now in relation to our own population growth and the rapid expansion of our labour force, but we also need an immigration policy

> for Canada which takes into account our ownership of more unoccupied living space than an overcrowded world can afford to ignore. The narrow concept of immigration as a manpower policy which has prevailed for the last six years, valuable though it has been in some respects, is not adequate for these purposes.[6]

The most significant aspect of the heavy immigration of the last twenty-five years has been its effect on the social composition of Canada's population. In 1901, people of British origin constituted 57 percent of the total population, those of French origin 30.7 percent, and those of other ethnic groups the remaining proportion. By 1971 (the last year for which statistics exist), the number of people of British origin had dropped to 44.6 percent of the total population, those of French origin to 28.7 percent, and the proportion of people from other ethnic groups had increased to 26.7 percent, just over a quarter of the total population. In view of the sharp drop in the birth rate, immigration in whatever form and quantity will continue to affect the composition of the country's population. Consequently, what is emerging is not by any means a clearly defined bicultural nation, but a multicultural society -- a fact which must certainly be taken into consideration if and when any major constitutional reforms are made.

The second major development to be noted is the social emancipation of Canadian women. This movement was provided with the required impetus by the manpower shortages of the early 1950's, causing a sharp increase in female participation in the labour force. Since then, the participation rate has steadily increased. Between 1965 and 1974, the proportion of women in the labour force increased by 60.1 percent, compared to an increase of 25.1 percent for men. The effect of this trend has been varied and longlasting. Woman's role in the social process has become more diversified. Nurtured by a highly organized movement (Women's Liberation), the impact of this social development on industrial, commercial, and political practices has been significantly positive and reformative. These changes

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[6] Freda Hawkins, Canada and Immigration. Public Policy and Public Concern, pp. xi-xii.

have contributed greatly to ensuring women their rightful place in Canadian society.

Concluding Remarks

It is most often during times of crisis that an individual's integrity is tested for its worth and endurance. The same can be said of a society, a state, and, in this case, of contemporary Canada. During the last decade, an unstable international economy has caused havoc in Canada by forcing deeply rooted problems to surface, i.e., Quebec nationalism and regionalism. These problems do not necessarily have to mark an end to Confederation. The resulting tensions and anxieties are a healthy sign and reflect the kind of political reality that Canada is -- a federal state. To the extent that Canadians fail to understand this and further fail to articulate it in relationship to the ever changing patterns of their society and a constantly changing world order, so too will they falter in their pursuit of self-identity and unity.

AN ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF ONTARIO'S EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM: AN OVERVIEW 1807-1969

Introduction

The administrative structure of Ontario's educational system was an offspring of the marriage between the state and education. As the provincial government became more deeply committed to the cause of public instruction, so arose the need to establish an effective system of control and administration for the various educational enterprises undertaken throughout the province. Most of the groundwork of the system was completed during Egerton Ryerson's superintendency. Thus, by the time Ontario's first Minister of Education, Adam Crooks, assumed office in 1876, the system had already attained a high degree of organization and sophistication. Moreover, it had also achieved a high degree of centralization of power and control which Ryerson perceived as being both economical and necessary in order to maintain uniformity in the services provided.

In subsequent years, as the system expanded, so did its administration. The Department underwent major changes in its organization in 1906 under the Ministry of R.A. Pyne, and in 1944 and 1946 under George Drew. These changes consolidated further the power of the central authority. Some steps were taken towards decentralization under the Ministry of Dana Porter (from 1948 to 1951), and during the administration of J.G. Althouse, who was Chief Director of Education from 1944 to 1956. Whatever changes were made in this direction during this period, they were either short-lived or superficial. It was not until William Davis assumed the office of Minister of Education that decentralization of the administration was incorporated in a major reorganization plan. This resulted in the decentralization of Departmental operations commencing in 1965, and in the establishment of larger administrative units under boards of education. The new plan was intended to ensure equality of educational opportunity to everyone in the province, to promote greater participation at the local level, and to give more jurisdiction to these larger administrative units. Thus, a shift in the balance of power over education was finally initiated. How realistically such a balance can be maintained is very difficult to determine, since this kind of decentralization is a form of delegated authority, which the government can withdraw at any time.

Early Efforts at Building a System of Public Instruction

The District Public School Act of 1807 can be said to represent the first government step towards the formation of a system of public instruction in Ontario. The Act called for the establishment of a grammar school in every district of the province, the appropriation of 800 pounds to cover the teachers' salaries, and the appointment of public school trustees in each district for the selection of teachers and general administration of the schools. Although control over most educational matters was at this time exercised by the local boards, the government established, by this Act, a line of authority and a set of legal relations (the government, the trustees, and the schools) on which future developments would be based.

In 1816, a Common School Act was passed by the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada to make provision primarily for the establishment of common schools in the districts. The Act empowered the inhabitants in any town, township, village or place to come together for the purpose of making arrangements for the establishment of a school and to appoint a local board of trustees, consisting of three persons, to be responsible for the selection of a teacher and the overall affairs of the school. At the same time, the Act made provision for the formation of a General Board of Education in each district. Each board consisted of no more than five persons apointed by the Lieutenant-Governor and its jurisdiction extended over both the grammar and the common schools. These boards had the authority to apportion the legislative grant to the schools, to approve or disapprove books used in the schools, and even to veto any regulation introduced at the local level. Furthermore, they were empowered to receive annual reports from the local boards and required to submit a report of their own to the Governor, who, in turn, could present it before the members of the Assembly for their inspection. This kind of communication was intended as a means of keeping those in authority acquainted with the state of education in the province and for maintaining those responsible for the schools at the local level vigilant in the performance of their duties. And even though there

was no provision in the Act for the direct inspection and control of the schools, the government gave a clear indication through the Common School Act of 1816 of the direction it was taking.

It was not until 1823 that a body of government appointed officials was created to supervise and co-ordinate the educational activities of the province. This body was the General Board of Education for Upper Canada and consisted of six members, including its chairman, the Honourable and Reverend John Strachan. In creating such a body, Lieutenant Governor Sir Peregrine Maitland, wished to effect the organization of a "general system of education" which could provide the basis for future developments.[1] The Board was officially brought into being with the passage of the School Extension Act on January 19, 1824. By this Act, the Board was given the general superintendence of all common and district schools and in effect made John Strachan the first superintendent of education for Upper Canada. More specifically, the Board was responsible for the administration of the school lands and finances, the selection and purchase of textbooks, and the inspection of the schools, a task through which Strachan exerted a healthy influence on the somewhat primitive conditions of the schools.

With the creation of the General Board of Education for Upper Canada a historical precedent of central control was clearly established and a rudimentary administrative model for a system of public instruction was completed. Although the Board would be dissolved in 1833 by the Colonial Office due to strong pressure from members of the Legislative Assembly who resented that the Board did not come under their jurisdiction, the model of a centralized system of education would experience a renaissance and long life under Ryerson's superintendency. In the meantime, the functions of the General Board of Education were transferred to the Council of King's College, which Strachan had founded in 1827.

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[1] J. George Hodgins, ed., Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada, Vol. 1, p. 196.

In subsequent years, until the passage of the School Act of 1846, education came under local control and was generally overshadowed by the political concerns of the period which culminated in the Rebellion of 1837. In 1839, Sir George Arthur, then Lieutenant-Governor of the province, established a commission to study and report on all the departments of government, including education whose state had been severely criticized by Lord Durham, then Governor-General of Canada. The committee responsible for education made several recommendations among which were some regarding the establishment of an administrative structure for the superintendence of schools. The committee recommended that the control of common schools be vested in a Provincial Board of Commissioners, chaired by a salaried person to be known as Inspector General of Education, and assisted by a salaried secretary who would not sit on the Board. The Inspector General of Education would be responsible for the general superintendence of both common and grammar schools and act as a liaison between the Board and the district boards. The duties of the proposed Board of Commissioners were very similar to those of the abolished General Board of Education, with the exception that it would have the additional responsibility of licensing teachers. Local control of the school was to remain with the appointed district boards and elected township directors (equivalent to the township boards). The committee also recommended the appointment of a secretary for these local boards to carry out general administrative tasks. In a township board, such a role was to be delegated to the schoolmaster. Although no administrative structure approximating the committee's proposal would be implemented before Ryerson's superintendency, these recommendations accentuated, nevertheless, the urgent need for an effective system of control as perceived by such noted men as John Strachan, James Crooks, Mahlon Burwell, Robert McGill, Robert Murray, and others who had made representations to the committee.

One of the first acts of the parliament of the united Province of Canada was the passage in September, 1841 of a Common School Bill, which, though poorly drafted and deemed unacceptable by representatives from both the western and eastern sections of the province,

reintroduced elements of central control into the educational system. The Bill created the salaried position of Superintendent of Education for the united Canada to be appointed by the Governor. One of the duties of the Superintendent was to establish uniformity in the conduct of the schools throughout the united province. In 1842, in accordance with the Bill, an appointment to the post was made in the person of the Hon. R.S. Jameson, who was then Vice-Chancellor of Canada West. White restoring a central authority to the system in the post of Superintendent, the Bill abolished the General Boards of Education and transferred their function to the municipal council of each district. Acting in this capacity, these municipal councils had the authority to divide the several townships under their jurisdiction into school sections, and to tax the inhabitants of each section to procure sufficient funds for the construction of a schoolhouse. In addition, they were responsible for the apportionment of the school grant to the townships and for the submission of annual reports on the state of education in their district to the Superintendent. The Act of 1841 also made provision for the election of township boards of trustees under the new designation of school commissioners.

Owing to the mounting controversy over the Bill and the social and racial tensions that it generated, it was superseded in 1843 by separate school acts for each section of the united province. The Act of 1843 for Canada West transferred the duties that had been vested in the Superintendent under the Common School Bill of 1841 to the Provincial Secretary, who became under the new act Chief Superintendent of Education, and technically the first Minister of the Crown in the history of education in Ontario to hold that position. The Act also provided for the appointment of two assistant superintendents, one for each section of the united Canada. The Reverend Robert Murray, a Presbyterian clergyman from Oakville, was, in 1842, appointed to the position of assistant superintendent for Canada West and remained in office until 1844 when he was replaced by Egerton Ryerson.

The Development of a System of Central Control

Earlier efforts at establishing some form of central control over the educational activities in Canada West were not in vain. Their vindication came with the passage of the School Acts of 1846 and 1850. Masterfully drafted by their chief architect, Egerton Ryerson, who in 1846 was elevated to the newly created position of Superintendent of Education, these Acts brought into being a highly centralized system of administration designed from the very beginning to serve the educational needs of all the people of the province. In describing the characteristics of the School Act of 1846, Ryerson stated:

> ...our System of Elementary Instruction is public and not private; that is, it not only receives support from the public treasury, but is in all its parts, under the regulation of the Law of the Land. The People of the Province, through their representatives, provide the means, and prescribe the conditions and regulations under which such aid shall be given to each Municipal District and School Section; and the object of Provincial oversight, and of District Superintendents of Schools, is not to do what local efforts can, and are better adapted to accomplish, but to guard the Provincial liberality from any local misapplication, and to supply the deficiency of local means of information, as well as to assist and encourage local exertion. In contradistinction to the isolation of a Private School, each Common School is a component part of a Provincial whole; and, as such, participates in the common benefit, and is subject to the common regulations. The practical efficiency of the System of Common School depends, then, upon the completeness with which the General Regulations, and the provisions of the Law are carried out, in respect to each locality, and the unanimity and zeal, with which each locality co-operates in the directly practical, and most essential, part of the general work.[2]

The Acts of 1846 and 1850 provided the legal framework by which to accomplish the work of education in the province. The Act of 1846 provided for the establishment of the post of Chief Superintendent of Common Schools to oversee the entire system and among whose specific duties was the diffusion of educational information among

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[2] Ibid., Vol. 6, p. 261.

the people of Canada West, a task at which Ryerson had already excelled as editor of the Christian Guardian. To assist and advise Ryerson in his work, the Act also provided for the institution of the General Board of Education. The post of township superintendent, created by the Act of 1841, was replaced by the office of district superintendent to which appointment was made by the municipal council of each district. With the termination of the post of township superintendent, responsibility for dividing the township into school sections and for the levying of taxes, duties vested in this office by the Act of 1843, was transferred to the municipal councils. In order to compensate for the loss created by the abolition of township superintendents, Ryerson introduced a system of school visitors. Under the Act of 1846, clergymen recognized by law, magistrates, and municipal council members were authorized to act as visitors of common schools with a view to inspecting and encouraging local efforts. Included among the varied duties of the district superintendent was the examination of prospective teachers and the issuance and cancellation of teaching certificates. Another important provision made in the Act was that relating to the election of township trustees, who thereafter would constitute a corporation, with all the rights, responsibilities, and powers accorded to it by law.

The Act of 1850 was much more comprehensive and specific in the delineation of provisions than the School Act of 1846. One of the two most important provisions made in the Act of 1850 was the establishment of the Council of Public Instruction for Upper Canada, consisting of not more than nine persons, including the Chief Superintendent, to replace the General Board of Education. The other important provision was the creation of county boards of public instruction, whose membership consisted of the grammar school trustees and the county superintendent. The county boards assumed the duties that had been vested under previous Acts in the offices of local and district superintendents, viz., the certification of teachers and the selection of textbooks for the schools. Moreover, they were given the responsibility of promoting the cause of education in their

respective constituency through the establishment of school libraries and the diffusion of useful knowledge. These boards were in effect extensions of the Council of Public Instruction at the local level and as such served to consolidate further central control over education. In 1853, the appointment of grammar school trustees was turned over to the municipal councils. This policy did not, however, significantly arrest the movement towards centralization since by this time the Council of Public Instruction was beginning to exercise more direct and stringent control over teacher certification and the selection of textbooks. The School Act of 1853 in fact extended further the jurisdiction of the central authority by incorporating into the school system all the grammar schools of the province.

The next significant measures taken toward the refinement of a centralized system of education came during Ryerson's last years in office. Through the School Act of 1871, Ryerson introduced the post of public school inspector to replace that of county superintendent. The incumbent inspector was appointed by the county council in accordance with very strict requirements prescribed by the central authority. It was Ryerson's hope that candidates for the position would be recruited primarily from the highest qualified teachers in the schools. These candidates would be already well-acquainted with school regulations and programs of study to enable them to assume very easily the main duties of the position, namely, the inspection of schools and the certification of teachers. They shared the latter duty with the newly created county boards of examination of which they were chairmen. Though locally appointed, public school inspectors, because of their mandate, were primarily representatives of the central authority. In the meantime, grammar school inspectors, redesignated high school inspectors by the Act of 1871, remained local appointments. This soon changed, however, with the passage of the School Act of 1874, which granted the authority over such appointments to the Council of Public Instruction.

The School Act of 1874 also changed the very composition of the Council of Public Instruction. Responding to criticism regarding the

membership of the Council, the government made provision in the Act to allow for a wider representation of persons who were more directly involved in education. Thus, the composition of the Council was amended from eight to eighteen members, among whom were included elected representatives from the ranks of university professors, public, separate and high school teachers, and inspectors. The measure was vehemently opposed by Ryerson, who strongly objected to the introduction of the elective element into the central administration, which he conceived to have purely an executive function, set apart from the trappings and possible abuses of partisan manoeuvres or party politics. His opposition was not without success. In June, 1875, Ryerson wrote a letter to Attorney-General Mowat in a last attempt to safeguard the executive function of the central administration. In the letter, Ryerson recommended making the Education Department into an actual "governmental Department," consisting of a non-partisan, appointed administration presided over by a Minister of the Crown holding the title of Minister of Public Instruction.[3] Such a move, Ryerson hoped, would have the double effect of bringing education under the control and direction of the Legislature, whose primacy by this time Ryerson could not help but acknowledge; and of maintaining unblemished the executive role of his administration. "I believe," he wrote, "that the real and only safety of the School System in all its integrity and efficiency of its administration, and in its wide complications and varied interests, depends upon its being brought more immediately under the review and guardianship of the Representatives of the People."[4] Upon Ryerson's retirement from office in 1876, both the Council of Public Instruction and the position of Chief Superintendent of Education were abolished and in their place the government created the Department of Education and the post of Minister of Education, as Ryerson had recommended.

The first Minister of Education was the Hon. Adam Crooks, who

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[3] Ibid., Vol. 26, p. 298.

[4] Ibid.

since 1871 had served in the government as both Attorney-General and Provincial Treasurer, and who had been personally encouraged to seek the office by Ryerson himself. To assist Crooks in his new duties was J. George Hodgins, who assumed the post of Deputy Minister, a role which, though new in name, was not unfamiliar to him as Ryerson's most able and loyal assistant for thirty years. Hodgins continued in that position under the Hon. George W. Ross, Crooks' successor, until his retirement in 1890.

The Growth of the Department of Education

A major reorganization of the newly created Department of Education came in 1906 under the Ministry of R.A. Pyne with the establishment of the Advisory Council on Education and the revival of the office of Superintendent of Education. These changes were made, Pyne pointed out in his Report of 1906, "as a practical method for bringing the Minister of Education in close touch with the teaching profession and enabling him, whenever he desires, to seek in a regular and systematic manner the counsel and opinions of the various ranks of educationists."[5] Membership on the Council consisted of representatives from the universities, the public, separate and high schools, the inspectors, and the trustees, including also the Superintendent of Education, who, in addition to his advisory role, acted as liaison officer between the Minister and the Council. The Council's function was purely advisory and it could only consider questions which had been proposed to it by the Minister through his representative. In subsequent years, an attempt was made to have the Council's jurisdiction extended, but without much success. In order to prevent the matter from developing into a more serious political issue, in 1915 the government abolished the Council. During this period, the post of Superintendent of Education was occupied by Dr. John Seath, who, possessing a very strong personality, exerted a dominating influence on the deliberations of the Department. It has been speculated

[5]Ontario, Department of Education. Annual Report of the Minister of Education, 1906, p. iii.

in recent years that the failure of the Advisory Council to gain prestige and influence was attributable to a great extent to the overwhelming effect exerted by Seath.[6] Seath remained in that office until his death in 1919, at which time the post was abolished. In 1923, the office was revived and assumed by F.W. Merchant under the title of Chief Director of Education.

As the school system continued to expand, new areas of responsibility developed causing a corresponding growth in the administration of the Department. By 1923, there were eleven senior administrative positions, excluding those of Deputy Minister and Chief Director of Education. These were: Chief Inspector of Public and Separate Schools, Director of Technical Education, Inspectors of Continuation Schools, Inspectors of High Schools, Director of Rural School Organization, Inspector of Manual Training and Household Science, Inspector of Elementary Agricultural Classes, Inspector of Public Libraries, Inspector of Auxiliary Classes, Provincial School Attendance Officer, and Director of Professional Training. This central administration, assisted in the field by the local inspector, exercised firm control over education throughout the province. The central authority was further reinforced in 1930 when the power to appoint elementary school inspectors was transferred from the county councils to the Department, and in 1944 when the Department assumed fifty percent of the cost of both elementary and secondary school education. Some efforts were made during the administrations of Dana Porter (Minister of Education from 1948 to 1951) and J.G. Althouse (Chief Director of Education from 1944 to 1956) towards decentralization, especially in the area of curriculum construction. However, this trend was short-lived and reversed under the Ministry of W.J. Dunlop, who went even as far as to discourage his inspectors from promoting the amalgamation of smaller school boards into larger units, thus further perpetuating local dependence on the central authority.

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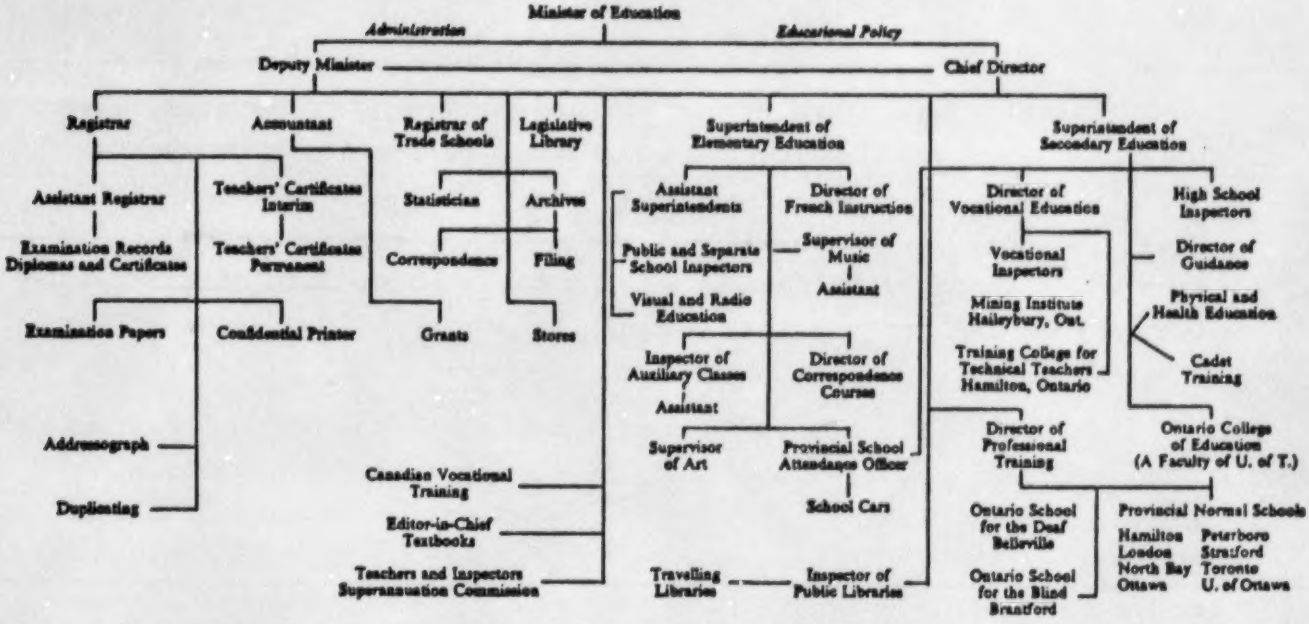
[6] For a statement of this view see Robin Harris, Quiet Evolution, pp. 109-110; and W.G. Fleming, Ontario's Educative Society, Vol. 2, p. 3.

After the retirement of F.W. Merchant, the offices of Chief Director of Education and Deputy Minister of Education were subject to a great deal of role confusion, causing a similar disorientation throughout the Department. Thus, when George Drew became Minister of Education in 1943, he immediately set out to reorganize the Department. He introduced a new organization plan based upon a functional differentiation of roles. Under the new plan, the Chief Director of Education was made responsible for policy development and implementation, and the Deputy Minister was made responsible for the administration of the Department. As evident in Chart I, the other positions in the Department were arranged in accordance with the same organizational principle. However, owing to his great administrative abilities and leadership qualities, J.G. Althouse, the newly appointed Chief Director of Education, soon began to exert much influence over all Departmental affairs. His dominant role was certainly not opposed by Drew, who as Premier was too busy to exercise much direct supervision of the Department. Thus, in 1946, Drew introduced another organization plan in which he placed the Chief Director of Education above the Deputy Minister, who was in turn immediately above the superintendents of elementary and secondary education, the superintendent of professional training, and the registrar (see Chart II). Althouse occupied the position of Chief Director of Education until his death in 1956.

During the 1950's and 1960's, as school enrolments increased on account of the post-war baby boom and heavy immigration, further changes were made in the Department structure, foreshadowing the major reorganization of 1965 under the Ministry of William Davis. In 1956, two posts of Deputy Minister were created, one with jurisdiction over elementary education, the other over secondary education. During the same year, the positions of superintendent of curriculum and superintendent of special services were established to co-ordinate activities in which the Department had been engaged for some time. As a way of formalizing the Department's extensive in-service teacher education program, in 1957 a Professional Training Branch was formed, distinct from the Teacher Education Branch. In 1963,

Chart I

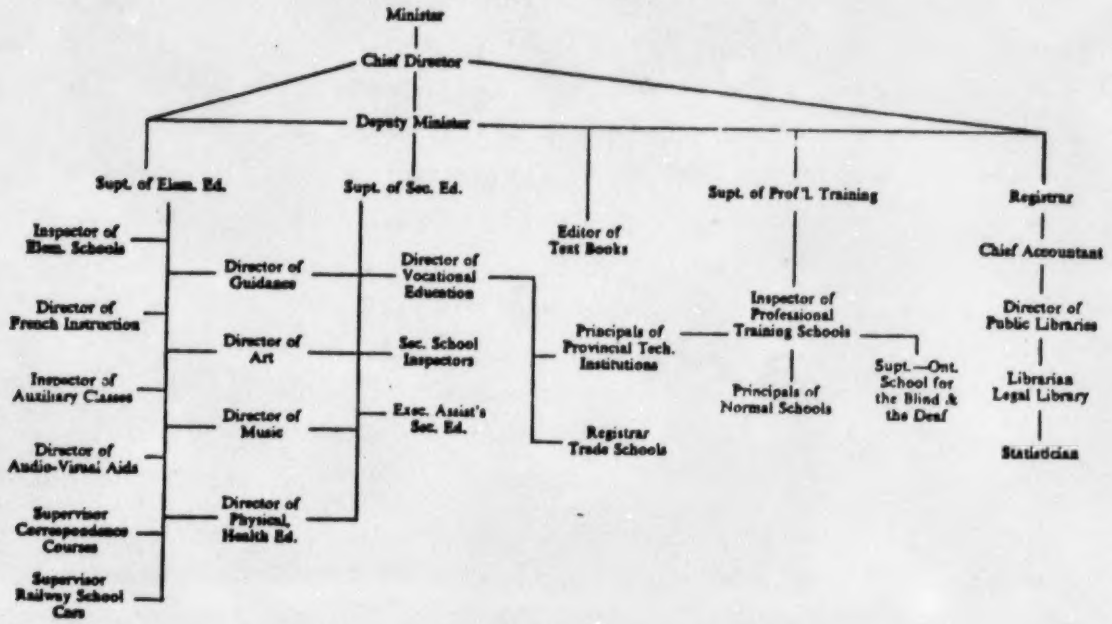
Organization, Department of Education, 1944



SOURCE: Ontario, Department of Education, *Annual Report of the Minister of Education, 1944* (Toronto, 1944), 98.

Chart II

Organization, Department of Education, 1946



Source: Ontario, Department of Education, Annual Report of the Minister of Education, 1946), 98, as adapted by Robin Harris in his book, Quiet Evolution, p. 113.

a Technological and Trades Training Branch was established to deal with all the vocational, technical, and trades programs with which the Department was directly or indirectly involved. Three years later it was renamed the Applied Arts and Technology Branch having the additional responsibility of the newly created colleges of applied arts and technology. Lastly, mention can also be made of the establishment in 1963 of the Youth Branch to attend to the needs of those students attending school on a part-time basis.

In 1965, William Davis became Minister of Education. Confronted with "new demands, new needs and new perspectives in education," which had been developing over the preceding two decades, the new Minister decided to reorganize the Department with a view to making it more efficient and effective in meeting these and other future challenges.[7] In addition, his plan included the reorganization of all local administrative units into larger areas of operation with the intent of causing the decentralization of the system.

Davis' Reorganization Program of 1965

In the design and implementation of his program, Davis was guided by three basic organizational principles: integration, reallocation, and decentralization.[8] By the application of the first principle, he set out to achieve three objectives: (1) the grouping of closly related functions into larger administrative wholes (e.g., the integration of curriculum, supervision, and the audio-visual section under the Program Branch); (2) the elimination of distinct substructures of elementary and secondary education; (3) and the integration of smaller units into their functionally related division or section (for these and other changes see Chart III).[9] Through the principle of reallocation, he displaced the office of Chief Director by that of Deputy Minister, under whom were three Assistant

[7] Ontario, Department of Education, Annual Report of the Minister of Education, 1965, p. 1.

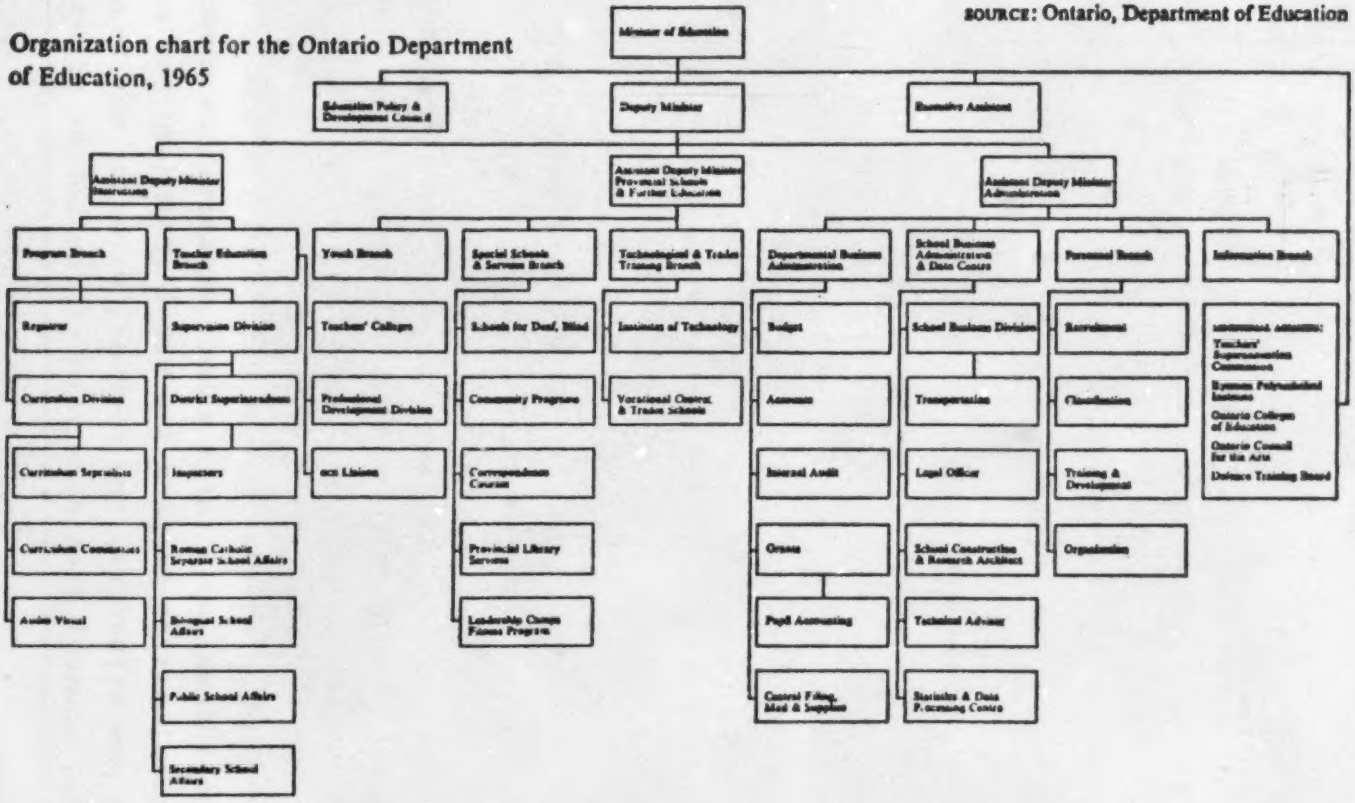
[8] W.G. Fleming, Ontario's Educative Society, Vol. 2, p. 19.

[9] Ibid.

Chart III

Organization chart for the Ontario Department of Education, 1965

SOURCE: Ontario, Department of Education



Deputy Ministers, responsible respectively for Instruction, Provincial Schools and Further Education, and Administration.[10] By this principle, Davis also hoped to eliminate in any one position any overlapping of administrative and professional functions.[11] By means of his third principle, he initiated a process of the decentralization of the system, which would gradually, he hoped, reduce local dependence on the central authority.[12]

The first phase of his program of decentralization was the establishment in 1965 of five area offices (later redesignated regional offices) in Port Arthur, Sudbury, North Bay, London, and Waterloo. A year later five other offices were created respectively at St. Catharines, Kingston, Eastview, and two in Metropolitan Toronto. These regional offices were headed by the area superintendent, who in time was given the title of regional director. The regional director was responsible for the co-ordination of all the work of the provincial inspectors and for the maintenance of close links with municipal supervisory officials to ensure that efficient use was made of all the available educational resources. The role of these centres evolved rather quickly in the next three years as the Department methodically withdrew from the area of supervision and relinquished this function to the newly enlarged school boards and their administrative units. In 1967, subject inspectors became program consultants and were joined in subsequent years by other specialized personnel who together formed a professional resource group for teachers in the field. In 1968, regional office staffs performed much of the groundwork in the reorganization of the school boards, from helping boards set up interim school organization committees to assisting municipal clerks prepare for the election on new boards in 1969. Under the new structure, the regional director was required to meet in regional council with directors of the boards of education and

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[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.

superintendents of combined separate school boards to discuss with them administrative procedures in areas in which board officials remain directly responsible to the Minister of Education.

The Reorganization of School Boards

Phase two of William Davis' plan to reorganize the school system came with the establishment of larger units of administration in 1968-1969 under the jurisdiction of boards of education.

Attempts to organize the schools into more efficient administrative units had been made since the Ryerson years. Ryerson himself in his abortive Bill of 1868 made provision for the election of township boards to supersede school section boards. A provision to this effect was included in the Common School Act of 1870, which allowed such a consolidation, provided it received the approval of the ratepayers of two-thirds of the school sections concerned. A significant step towards further consolidation was taken with the passage of the Boards of Education Act of 1903, which provided for the formation of a single board of education having jurisdiction over both elementary and secondary schools in cities with a population of at least 100,000. The provision was amended in 1904 to include all cities, towns, and villages. Membership on these municipal boards consisted of representatives elected by public school supporters and appointed by separate school boards. In 1909, the power to establish a municipal board of education was extended to the council of any urban municipality whose school district boundaries were coterminous with those of the municipality. Two years later, legislation was introduced requiring the council to obtain the approval of the majority of the ratepayers before taking such action. This provision remained in force until 1948 when an amendment was made to the Boards of Education Act removing the latter limitation, but making the municipal council's decision subject to Ministerial approval. Despite these legislative provisions, the amalgamation of small school sections was slow prior to 1940. Owing to a rediscovery of the advantages obtained through amalgamation, much progress was made during the 1940's in the voluntary formation of township units. By 1949, 481 township school areas

were formed for the administration of elementary schools, replacing over 3,000 former school sections. However, the movement lost much of its momentum under the Ministry of Dunlop, who, as noted elsewhere, seems to have discouraged this trend.

Davis' plan to enlarge the local administrative units began with the introduction in 1964 of an amendment to the Public School Act making it mandatory for school sections to amalgamate into township school areas. The provision also called for the amalgamation of all village, town, and city districts with a population of less than 1,000 or an average attendance of less than 100 to an adjacent township area. The result of the new legislation was the abolition of more than 1,500 rural boards; the reduction in the number of rural public boards in the counties from 1,850 to 423, and in the territorial districts from 233 to 166; and the overall reduction in the number of public elementary boards in the province from 2,419 to 1,037.

Also in 1964, another amendment to the Public School Act authorized every county council to appoint a consultative committee consisting of three to five ratepayers and a non-voting school inspector acting as chairman and the establishment of corresponding bodies in territorial districts for the purpose of studying the feasibility of creating county school areas or their equivalent in territorial districts. In 1966 four county school areas were voluntarily established, replacing 148 former school sections, and 10 district areas, replacing 173 former sections. This development reflected not only a real trend towards higher forms of integration which were to materialize more fully in 1968-1969, but also highlighted the role local responsibility and initiative would play under the new scheme. The voluntary amalgamation that was achieved prior to 1968-1969 facilitated the implementation of the compulsory reorganization program later introduced.

Concluding Remarks

Over the years, the government's strong hold over the educational activities in the province has been subject to much criticism.

Critics have attacked not only the extreme imbalance that they perceived to exist between local and central control, but also the politically partisan element in the person of the Minister of Education. It was Ryerson's view that the administration of a system of education should remain free, as much as possible, from political influence. His view was expressed in the context of a political philosophy in which party politics played a very minor role. However, with the rise of a viable and more fully participatory democracy in Canada, the rightful voice of the people (the electorate) began to exert a consistent and healthy influence on the decision-making process of government, especially in regard to educational matters. In recent years, public opinion has played a significant role in determining educational developments, particularly in the areas of programs and curricula planning and on the question of local versus central control of education.

With the emergence of a more highly educated electorate and a more complex and effective communication system to facilitate greater social and political participation in the not too distant future, public opinion (representing larger numbers than ever before) is bound to have a more direct effect on the political process. This is certain to cause fundamental changes in the administrative structure of public education. These changes should not produce too much tension or discord since the system has, from its inception, been able to adapt especially well to political realities. Nevertheless, to the extent that education will remain the responsibility of government, whatever organizational changes are made in the system, they will be made with a view to meeting the particular needs of the people of Ontario -- public opinion will ensure that.

PROGRAMMES AND CURRICULA DEVELOPMENT IN ONTARIO SCHOOLS

1937-1975

Introduction

A careful review of major programmes and curricula developments in Ontario schools over the last four decades discloses a definite shift towards a tempered progressivism in education.

This trend first surfaced in recent times as a major component of Ontario educators' thinking with the introduction of the revised elementary-school curriculum of 1937, with its child-centred approach to learning and the school. At the secondary level, it was reflected in the movement, in the 1940's and 1950's, towards the establishment of composite schools with their integrated programs of academic and vocational courses; and, in the early 1950's, in the short-lived experiment of the decentralization of curriculum construction, whose underlying philosophy was endorsed by the Hope Royal Commission on Education.

During the remainder of the 1950's and the early 1960's, the trend was arrested by pressing practical concerns caused by an expanding Canadian economy and a rapidly increasing school population. Nevertheless, the rather utilitarian Robarts Plan of 1962 did serve to consolidate the secondary school programme, thus facilitating the transition, in the early 1970's, to a more individualized system of education with the introduction of the credit system. Progressivism in the elementary schools experienced a revival in the late 1960's, only to suffer what may prove to have been only a mild setback resulting from pressure exerted on the government by a public which was generally disappointed with the quality of education being offered in the schools.

Barring radical socio-political changes in the structure of Canadian society, some form of progressivism in education is here to stay, as an educational philosophy which most closely reflects the principles of Canadian democracy. The programmes and curricula developments in Ontario examined in the following overview tend to support such an appraisal.

The Revised Elementary-School Curriculum of 1937

A major curriculum change in Grades 1 to 6 was introduced in Ontario schools in 1937. The new curriculum, presented in a small gray booklet entitled Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6 of the

Public and Separate Schools, was prepared by a committee of teachers that had been set up for this purpose by the Department of Education in December, 1936. A revised programme of studies was also introduced for Grades 7 and 8 in 1938.

The new elementary programme of studies represented a radical departure from the a priori conceived curriculum of the Ryerson years to an allegedly a posteriori constructed programme, that is, based upon an empirical knowledge about the nature of the child. "Any education worthy of that name," stated the committee, "must be planned in accordance with the best available evidence on the nature of the child's development."[1] The new orientation in the curriculum reflected the influence of Friedrich Froebel's and John Dewey's ideas on Ontario education, and marked the beginning of a progressivist trend which culminated in 1968 with the publication of Living and Learning, a report submitted to the then Minister of Education William Davis by the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives in Education in Ontario.

In subsequent years, the Programme of Studies was revised in response to suggestions made by teachers and school inspectors. However, these changes were of a minor nature, leaving the essential elements of the programme unaltered. Indeed, the programme remained relatively unchanged even during the period immediately following the release of Living and Learning, and well into the 1970's. The Curriculum Guidelines, Primary and Junior Divisions, published in 1971, were being regarded by the Department as "a restatement of approach with an updating of certain parts of the existing Programme of Studies...."[2]

In the introduction to the 1937 edition of the Programme of Studies, great stress was placed on the function of the school in providing a "stimulating environment" within which the pupils' natural tendencies were to be directed "into useful and desirable attitudes."[3]

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[1] Ontario. Department of Education, Programme of Studies for Grades 1 to 6 of the Public and Separate Schools, 1937, p. 5.

[2] Ontario. Department of Education, Curriculum Guidelines, Primary and Junior Divisions, 1971, p. 3.

[3] Programme of Studies, 1937, p. 5.

"In short," asserted the committee, "the school must follow the method of nature, stimulating the child, through his own interests, into activities and guiding him into experiences useful for the satisfaction and development of his needs."[4] In accordance with this basic principle, the committee of teachers recommended the abandonment of uniform standards of attainment, the abolition of external examinations as the basis for promotion, and the development of a programme of studies suited to the special needs of the individual pupil.

In the introduction to the 1941 edition of the Programme of Studies, an attempt was made to check the individualistic tendencies inherent in the statement of curriculum goals in the 1937 edition. In the 1941 edition, equal emphasis was given to both the nature of the child's development and the kind of society in which the child lived, namely, a democratic society "which bases its way of life upon the Christian ideal."[5] In addition to meeting the particular personal needs of the individual pupil, one of the fundamental roles of the school was to prepare the pupil to participate successfully in the democratic society in which he lived. Thus, in the 1941 edition of the Programme of Studies, the school was given the following threefold task: (1) to assist the pupil to understand the nature of the environment in which he lives; (2) to lead the pupil to understand and to choose as his own the ideals of conduct and endeavour which a Christian and democratic society approves; (3) to help the pupil acquire a mastery of all those abilities that he requires in order to live a fruitful and useful life in modern society.[6]

The revised Grades 1 to 6 curriculum proposed in 1937 consisted of seven major subjects of study: Health, English, Social Studies, Natural Science, Arithmetic, Music, and Art. They replaced the fifteen subjects of the former programme. In grades 7 and 8, Crafts, Home

[4] Ibid., p. 6.

[5] Programme of Studies, 1941, p. 5.

[6] Ibid., pp. 6-7.

Economics, and Agriculture were also offered as options. A central place in the new programme was occupied by Health, which was not to be regarded simply as another subject but as an ideal which should permeate all school activities. It thus became the task of the school to provide to its pupils with those experiences which directly promoted this ideal, viz., health service, which included the maintenance of healthful surroundings, regular health examinations, morning inspection of children, the control of communicable diseases, and the rendering of first aid in emergency cases; health education, which was aimed at the development of good health habits, supported by sound explanations; and physical education, which included free play, games, drills, dances, and exercises designed to develop and maintain physical efficiency. Of all the academic subjects, English was placed first in order of importance. It was suggested in the gray books that were published over the years that 30 percent of the time-table be assigned to English, followed by Social Studies with 20 percent, and then the other subjects each with 10 percent. The English course consisted of language exercises, reading, spelling, and writing. Next came Social Studies, which included the study of geography, history, and citizenship. The object of the course was to assist the pupil to acquire a basic understanding of the society in which he lived and of the meaning of good citizenship. Natural Science included the study of such topics as plant and animal life; such common natural phenomena as the seasons, the weather, and the apparent movement of celestial bodies; and the principles of physiology and hygiene. A prime objective of the course was to stimulate the pupil's natural curiosity to know more about the world around him. Arithmetic was allotted half an hour's study per day. The main purpose of the course was to introduce the pupil to the meaning of numbers and to assist him in developing a few basic numerical skills through a demonstration of their practical use and through repeated exercises and practice. Music was intended to promote both the emotional and intellectual components of the pupil's life. It was suggested that music training include rhythmic expression, the correct and pleasing use of the voice in singing, the "concerted rendering" of worthwhile music, and the appreciation

of great musical compositions. The course in Art consisted of such artistic activities as drawing, modelling, painting, sewing, and weaving. It was recommended that equal stress be placed on the development of both the pupil's creative abilities and his aesthetic sensibility.

The revised curriculum was organized into six successive grades. This assumed that in all cases the work of each grade required one full school year. For this reason, provision was made in the new programme to allow for the acceleration of brighter children or for the development of an enriched programme for them. Slower children were to be given a modified programme and special attention from their teacher to ensure their rate of progress and development within their social group. The flexible nature of the programme also permitted, when and where desirable, the combination of two or three grades in some of the courses, with the work for each course arranged in successive cycles to accommodate the wide range of pupils in the class.

With the elimination of uniform, external examinations, the teacher's judgment of each pupil's ability "to engage with profit" in the activities of the next grade was made the deciding factor in the determination of promotion.[7] This judgment was to be based on the teacher's observation of the pupil's performance throughout the year, not on any one particular assessment. The underlying intent of this provision reflected the overall emphasis in the new curriculum on learning as an activity involving the total person, as opposed to the conception of learning an accumulation of a body of knowledge or information which the pupil was forced to reproduce at examination time. The retention of information was now to be valued in terms of the interest and usefulness it had for the pupil, not as a prerequisite for promotion. "What is necessary, then, if we wish children to retain certain 'facts'," wrote the committee of teachers in the 1941 edition of the Programme of Studies, "is not to require that they be memorized

[7] Ibid., p. 11.

for an examination, but to clothe those facts with interest and provide opportunities for their use."[8]

Despite the abolition of uniform standards and rates of attainment, the practice of providing progress reports to parents was retained. The committee of teachers viewed this as the right of parents. The report kept the parents informed on the pupil's attendance, his punctuality, his progress, interests, and attitudes. The recommendation was made that progress in each type of activity might be indicated by the letters A, B, C, where A would stand for excellence, B for satisfactory, and C for unsatisfactory. It was further suggested that the pupil's progress in the development of desirable social attitudes and special interests could be expressed in the form of brief comments phrased always in positive terms. Negative comments were best conveyed to the parents during a private interview.

Another important feature of the new curriculum was the inclusion of a section in the gray books on the 'enterprise' whose purpose was "to provide for growth in the ability of children to live and work together."[9] The first phase of this group activity consisted in arousing the pupils' interest in some particular project or projects. This was followed by a planning session during which the teacher and pupils decided which activities were to be carried out, what problems had to be resolved, and who would be responsible for the various parts of the project. Phase three consisted of a work period devoted, first, to the investigation and research of the project and, second, to the production of the intended result. The enterprise culminated with the sharing of the results with the whole class either in the form of a presentation or a display, depending on the nature of the project. The value of the enterprise, was not, however, to be found in the finished product, but in the interest and co-operative activity that the group project generated.

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[8] Ibid., p. 12.

[9] Ibid., p. 17.

The revised curriculum of 1937 ushered in an era of progressivism in Ontario education. Thus, J.M. McCutcheon's description of the school viewed within the context of the Programme of Studies and written in 1941 in his work Public Education in Ontario remains current over three decades later. McCutcheon wrote:

> The school is no longer merely a place of formal instruction. It is rather an environment which stimulates growth in the widest sense, growth in the capacity for self-direction and self-dependence, in understanding and appreciation, in emotional control, in social adaptability, in will-power and character, and in the ability to sense values.[10]

McCutcheon's description could easily be attributed to the authors of Living and Learning. Conscious of the historical roots of the educational ideas that they were expounding in Living and Learning, the members of that Provincial Committee explicitly pay tribute to the philosophical relevance of the Programme of Studies of 1937 as a document which was far in advance of its time for Ontario. "The simple but startling truth is," they wrote in their report, "that virtually every idea in it (the gray book), with only one immediately noticeable exception, might have been expressed by educationally enlightened and advanced authors today."[11]

The Programme of Studies never won general acceptance in the schools. It called for too much of a radical readjustment to new ideas, new methods, and new attitudes on the part of teachers and administrators. Moreover, during the 1950's and early 1960's, severe teacher shortages further impeded its implementation by forcing the Department to admit into the teaching profession individuals who were barely prepared to cope with the demands of the old curriculum. Consequently, proponents of progressive ideas in education were forced to await the advent of more favourable conditions before they would witness a revival of this educational philosophy.

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[10] J.M. McCutcheon, Public Education in Ontario, p. 121.

[11] Ontario. Living and Learning. The Report of the Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario, p. 70.

Changes in the Secondary School Curriculum in 1937

The revision of the curricula for secondary schools was not as extensive as that for the elementary schools. The major changes that were made in 1937 included the introduction of a common Grade 9 course and the abolition of the term "lower school" to refer to Grades 9 and 10. Under the revised Grade 9 course, General Shop became a compulsory subject for boys and Home Economics for girls. In addition, students were required to take the following subjects: English, Social Studies, Health and Physical Education, Business Practice and Writing, Mathematics, General or Agriculture Science, French, and Music and Art.

In Grade 10, a student had the choice of taking the General (academic) course or one of five vocational courses. The General course was offered to the end of Grade 13, while the vocational courses usually terminated with Grade 12. The following list of subject requirements for each of these courses of study shows the flexible and comprehensive nature of the programmes offered during this period and reflects the trend towards a composite secondary school curriculum on which the Reorganized Programme of 1962 would be based.[12] Principals, however, arranged courses by packages, so that the intended flexibility often was not available to students.

Grade 10

General Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, Social Studies, Health
Options (any four of): Mathematics, Science or Agriculture, Shop Work or Home Economics, Commercial or German or Greek, Music and Art, Latin, French

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[12] The list is adapted from the one compiled by Harry Pullen in "A Study of Secondary School Curriculum Change in Canada With Special Emphasis on an Ontario Experiment," Ed.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1955, pp. 89-91.

Industrial and Agriculture Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, Social Studies, Health, Mathematics, Science, Shop or Agriculture (up to 30 percent)

Options: Music or Art

Home Economics Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, Social Studies, Health, Home Economics (up to 30 percent)

Options (two of): Mathematics, Science, Music or Art or French

Commercial Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, Social Studies, Health, Commercial (30 to 40 percent)

Options (two of): Mathematics, French or Home Economics or Shop, Music or Art, or Music and Art

Art Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, Social Studies, Health, Art (30 percent)

Options (two of): Mathematics, Science, Shop or Home Economics, French, Music

Grades 11 and 12

General Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, History, Health

Options (four of): Mathematics, Science or Agriculture, French, Latin, German, Greek, Spanish, Italian, Commercial or Shop or Home Economics, Music and Art or Music or Art

Industrial Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, Economic History, Shop or Agriculture, Mathematics and Science, Health

Options: Music or Art

Art Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, History, Art and Crafts, Health

Options (one of): Music, French, Science, Mathematics

Home Economics Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, History, Health, Science or Art, Practical Work

Options (one of): French, Mathematics, Music, Business Practice

Commercial Course

Compulsory Subjects: English, History, Health, Commercial (50 to 60 percent)

Options (one or two): Mathematics, French, Art, Music, Science, Home Economics, Shop

In subsequent years up to 1950 there were numerous reforms made in the secondary-school curriculum, among which the following deserve special mention: in 1939, the introduction of an Intermediate Certificate to be issued to those students who successfully completed any one of the courses listed above at the end of Grade 10; in 1940, the abolition of middle school departmental examinations, the inclusion of Health and Physical Education as compulsory subjects in Grade 13, and the appearance for the first time of Geography as an option in Grades 11 and 12; in 1942, the addition of Music as a Grade 13 subject; in 1944, the beginning of the practice of issuing the Secondary School Graduation Diploma (Grade 12) and the Secondary School Honour Graduation Diploma (Grade 13) respectively; and in 1950, the elimination of the Grade 9 common course and the revival of options for Grade 9.[13]

The Hope Royal Commission on Education and the Curriculum

In March, 1945, Ontario's Premier George Drew established a Royal Commission to conduct a major enquiry into education in the province and to make recommendations regarding possible reforms. When it eventually released its final report in December, 1950, the Commission refrained from detailing a curriculum for the reorganized system it was recommending -- a school system based on a 6-6-3 division of grades, excluding kindergarten at the bottom and Grade 13 at the top which was to be incorporated into a three-year junior college programme. Instead, the commissioners simply endorsed the principle of co-operative

[13] Ibid., pp. 91-92.

curriculum development, reflecting the philosophy underlying the changes Dana Porter, then Minister of Education, was in the process of implementing. "This method of procedure," they wrote, "is necessary if we want to promote in our schools that spirit of initiative, experiment, and co-operation which should characterize education in a democracy."[14] Thus, even though the commissioners did not hesitate to prescribe subjects to be studied at both the elementary and secondary level and even made suggestions regarding progressive pedagogical methods, they limited their elaboration of these topics so as not to overshadow the Department's efforts at decentralizing curriculum construction.

With respect to the elementary-school curriculum, the Commission endorsed the Programme of Studies of 1937, adding Religious Education to the list of prescribed courses. The programme for secondary schools was, at least in part, directly influenced by university admission requirements. Recognizing that only a small minority followed the university route, and specifically that for a great number the fourth year of high school was the terminal stage of education by virtue of their age, the Commission recommended that attempts be made at streaming students into subject options, subject specialization, and/or vocational training.

The Commission also made reference to the unsuccessful interlude with co-operative education, i.e., between the school and industry. While acknowledging the positive features of such a programme, it expressed its disappointment at the lack of co-operation that had been experienced between the two groups concerned. Departmental efforts aimed at rectifying this situation were accelerated during the 1950's; and in the early 1960's, industry participation would play an important role in the implementation of the Reorganized Programme for secondary schools.

The Porter Plan

In November, 1949, Minister of Education Dana Porter introduced

[14] Ontario. Report of the Royal Commission on Education in Ontario, 1950, p. 106.

a plan by which to revise and decentralize the curriculum without effecting any change in the existing 8-5 division of the school system. Rather, Porter instituted four divisions for curriculum purposes: the Primary (Grades 1-3), the Junior (Grades 4-6), the Intermediate (Grades 7-10), and the Senior (Grades 11-13). These divisions, in turn, caused other important changes: the elimination of high school entrance examinations; the offering of fewer compulsory subjects and more options in the Senior years; the redistribution of the Grade 13 programme through Grades 11 and 12; and the offering of terminal courses to students wishing to leave school at the age of sixteen.

Essentially, the Porter Plan involved a major attempt to decentralize the process of curriculum construction. Under the Plan, teachers, working under the supervision of a curriculum co-ordinating committee, were authorized to revise earlier courses, adapt new departmental courses, or implement new departmental courses in their original form.[15] The reforms reflected the same progressivist spirit that characterized the Programme of Studies of 1937 and were designed to achieve definite goals, as stated by Porter in his 1949 Annual Report. There he wrote:

> The substitution of primary, junior and intermediate divisions for the older classification is a deliberate attempt to free the school system from the shackles of the one-grade, one-book, one-year organization. Experiments with the new organization are in progress in many centres throughout the province. The freedom it permits should help solve some of the problems of retardation of pupils held back because of weakness in one subject or another. A free organization should permit progress in each subject at a rate suitable to the capacity of the individual, and the provision of subject matter related to his interests and needs.[16]

Numerous committee structures were used to implement the basic tenets of the new plan to allow for teachers' input in various aspects of the curriculum. At long last, a departmental plan was introduced

[15] W.G. Fleming, Ontario's Educative Society, Vol. 3, p. 134.

[16] Ontario. Department of Education, Annual Report of the Minister of Education, 1949, p. 7.

which offered direct involvement to the implementors of the curriculum, the teachers themselves, thus causing a serious analysis of not only the professional-development needs of teachers, but also of policies affecting the entire sphere of the teaching profession.

A review of the work accomplished during the period in which the Plan was actively implemented shows that the methods employed were quite effective in giving teachers the voice they had previously sought. However, as was the case with the implementation of the revised curriculum of 1937, the entry of poorly qualified and poorly trained teachers to fill the urgent demand created by the post-war baby boom had a disruptive effect on the new programme. Thus, the momentum of the trend and of the work being done began to loose its force. The Plan received yet another blow when in 1951 the portfolio of the Minister of Education passed on to W.J. Dunlop. who was not by any means committed to Porter's scheme. Shortly thereafter, the Department began once again to publish courses of study and the local curriculum committees were gradually dismantled, if not completely dissolved.

The Porter experiment at decentralizing curriculum construction was not a complete failure since it did generate a very strong interest in the subject of curriculum development among a wide cross-section of educators. This trend led, in 1951, to the formation of the Ontario Association for Curriculum Development, which over subsequent years assumed a leadership role in the field. The mounting importance of the curriculum in Ontario education was formally acknowledged by the Department in 1956 with the creation of the office of Superintendent of Curriculum. A later development of the trend was the establishment in 1963 of the Ontario Curriculum Institute, which had as its primary goal "the study of all phases of the curriculum in the schools and universities of Ontario from the standpoint of content and the nature of the learning process and to disseminate the results of such study."[17] In 1965, this institution merged with the Ontario College of Education's Department of Educational Research to form the basis of

[17] Brian Burnham, ed., New Designs for Learning, p. v.

the newly created Ontario Institute for Studies in Education. Lastly, it must be noted that all these developments evolved to create a favourable atmosphere and to provide the necessary organizational instruments to facilitate the implementation in the late 1960's and early 1970's of a new secondary school curriculum which incorporates many of the salient features of the Porter Plan.

The Reorganized Programme of 1962

On August 28, 1961, John P. Robarts, then Minister of Education, announced rather unexpectedly a reorganization programme of the province's secondary school system. The decision for prompt action was dictated by two very important considerations. First, it had become evident that the existing system was unable to accommodate the special needs of a majority of students as demonstrated by the high drop-out rate after Grade 9. It was determined that only about 40 percent of students promoted to Grade 9 graduated with a diploma from Grade 12. The government was thus faced with the challenge of providing new educational opportunities and alternate programs to encourage students to remain in school longer to prepare themselves for what had become a more competitive and highly demanding manpower market. Second, the Ontario government had until March 31, 1963 to take full advantage of the Federal-Provincial Technical and Vocational Training Agreement, which provided for payment of 75 percent of construction costs of vocational school buildings by the federal government and the remainder by the provincial government. The federal government's increased interest in education was motivated by the urgent need to supply the demand for highly trained manpower required by an expanding Canadian economy. The Agreement was designed to encourage the provinces to diversify and expand their vocational and technical programmes in the schools. For Ontario, the Agreement provided the incentive not only to develop an integral programme of studies by which to meet all of the students' interests, abilities, and needs, but to organize more efficiently under a unified plan all the vocational and technical courses its schools had developed and offered over the years.

Under the Reorganized Programme, or Robarts Plan, the former General, Commercial, and Technical course divisions were renamed as Branches: Arts and Science, Business and Commerce, and Science, Technology and Trades, with the inclusion of a one or two-year, four-year, and five-year programme within each branch. The five-year programme was designed for students who intended to enter university after graduation. The four-year programme offered a general education, with emphasis on the practical preparation of the student for the manpower market. The one or two-year programme was designed to give students with limited ability an opportunity to obtain a sound education and acquire a service trade or skill.

The Robarts Plan was optional and was to be introduced gradually over a projected period of five years. After the announcement of the Plan, the Department sought immediately the advice of teachers, university professors, trustees, parents, and representatives from business and industry to facilitate its implementation. It also set up committees consisting of highly qualified classroom teachers, directors and supervisors of special subjects, staff members from teachers' colleges and the Ontario College of Education, and inspectors to make recommendations regarding the aims and objectives, and methods for the new courses.

Over the next several years, the Robarts Plan gained general acceptance throughout the province. The financial incentive offered to the school boards by the federal-provincial agreement was a definite factor influencing this development. Numerous new courses were developed in response to programme needs. Moreover, the new programme did provide a better choice of subjects for students. Nevertheless, no sooner than it was implemented, the Plan began experiencing administrative difficulties, viz., students were being incorrectly assigned into different programmes and branches; students could not avail themselves of subjects offered in branches other than their own. Contrary to its original design, the Reorganized Programme did not effect, in many cases, a curriculum which responded to all the interests, abilities, and needs of students. Thus, by 1967 plans were already initiated to phase-out the Programme and phase-in a new, and even more individualized and decentralized secondary school curriculum.

A New Plan for Secondary Schools

A new plan for secondary schools was introduced during the school year 1969-70. This had been the result of two years of organizational and program innovation conducted on an experimental basis in six Ontario high schools. The project, which began in 1967, was under the direction of a School Program Organization Committee consisting of departmental officials, a representative of the Ontario Secondary School Headmasters' Council, and the six principals of the schools concerned. The Committee developed a new plan based on four basic organizational principles which were in effect responses to major difficulties that had been encountered by the Reorganized Programme. The principles were stated as follows:

> the use of a credit system as a means to more flexible timetabling and greater freedom of choice by the student;
>
> organization of curriculum choices on the basis of broad areas of study, rather than by Branch or Program;
>
> adaptation of courses of study at the school level to meet the requirements and potential of the student;
>
> the creation of individual timetables in relation to changes in the student's needs, interests, abilities and achievements.[18]

In subsequent editions of Circular HS1, these principles were re-worded and expanded, but their essential meaning was left unchanged. For the first three years, the new plan was offered as an alternative to the branch/program structure. However, at the end of this three-year period, implementation of the credit system became compulsory.

Circular HS1 defined a credit "as successful completion of a course containing work that normally would be completed after 110 to 120 hours of scheduled time," the equivalent of approximately a 40

[18] Ontario. Department of Education, Recommendations and Information for Secondary School Organization leading to Certificates and Diplomas, 1969-70 (HS1), p. 7.

minute period per day taken throughout the school year. In order to qualify for a Secondary School Graduation Diploma, a student required a total of 27 credits, and for the honour Graduation Diploma, an additional six courses.

In applying the credit choices in the manner in which course offerings were organized, to earn a diploma the student was required to choose one credit from each of the four areas of study in each of his first two years and at least one additional credit in each of the areas after his first two years. The broad areas of study were identified as Communications, Social and Environmental Studies, Pure and Applied Sciences, and Arts. This organizational principle could be modified by the school itself depending upon such factors as the manner in which the school chose to categorize courses, its stated prerequisites, and its timetabling restraints.

The last two principles of the new curriculum were aimed at the benefit of the learner in the sense that the student participated in decisions regarding the selection of his courses, the structure of his timetable, the timing of his courses taken in relation to levels of difficulty. In addition, these two principles alluded to methodologies for learner assistance through innovative teaching approaches, independent study programmes, and media-assisted learning. Inherent in these changes were the essential characteristics of adaptability and flexibility whether these elements were applied to the organization, implementation or integration of the course material.

The Revival of Progressivism in the Elementary School Curriculum

The early 1960's witnessed a call for review and revision of the elementary school curriculum. A healthy economic climate and an adequate teacher supply further accentuated the desirability for such action. In 1965, this discussion for change prompted the Minister of Education William Davis to establish a Provincial Committee on Aims and Objectives of Education in the Schools of Ontario. The general mandate given to the Committee was "to make a careful study of the means whereby modern education can meet the present and future needs

of children and society."[19] The Committee, co-chaired by Justice E.M. Hall and Lloyd Dennis, submitted its report to the Minister in June, 1968.

The report, entitled Living and Learning, was, as already noted elsewhere, a refinement and an elaboration of the educational philosophy expounded in the Programme of Studies.[20] It called for an individualized programme of instruction for the development of all the potentialities of each child, the removal of corporal punishment, and for a de-emphasis on competition in the classroom. The school was to be viewed as a place of personal growth and development based on a learning process of self-discovery. Translated into organizational terms, this meant a decentralization of a curriculum based upon grades and specific subjects and the introduction of a system of education revolving around the child, with a minimum of supervision and guidance.

Public reaction to the report was mixed and filled with controversy which persisted well into the mid 1970's. The Department's response to the Committee's recommendations was immediate and enthusiastic, as evident from the three principles proposed as the basis of Ontario education in the Annual Report of 1969: "...a decentralized curriculum, individualized programs and a multidisciplinary approach to learning."[21] It was also announced in the same report that the Curriculum Section was distributing courses outlines of a more general nature than in the past and that these outlines were merely intended to serve as a framework within which teachers working with their students and programme consultants could develop their own courses based on local needs.

Over the next three years following the release of Living and Learning, it was estimated by Department surveys that over 70 percent of the Provincial Committee's recommendations were implemented either

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[19] Living and Learning, p. 4.

[20] See p. 2.

[21] Ontario. Department of Education, Annual Report of the Minister of Education, 1969, p. 2.

in total or in part.[22] However, during the same period, the schools and their programmes were subjected to much public criticism. Most of this criticism concentrated on the neglect of the 3 R's in elementary education, the apparent lack of discipline, and the seeming lack of structure in the elementary programme. Addressing the twenty-third Annual Conference of the Ontario Association of Curriculum Development in November, 1974, Thomas Wells, William Davis' successor as Minister of Education, suggested to his audience that the elementary school curriculum was facing a credibility problem in the eyes of the public.[23] As a partial solution to the problem, he proposed the encouragement of greater parental involvement in the schools on the part of principals and teachers. In addition, he made other recommendations which clearly indicated that a change in departmental policy was imminent. In particular, he went on to describe a "five-element package" which the Department was planning to introduce.[24]

The first of these elements was the Circular P1J1, a Provincial Curriculum Policy for the Primary and Junior Divisions of the Public and Separate Schools of Ontario, entitled The Formative Years. The small booklet, released in 1975, contained a series of precise statements of expectations for the elementary school programme. The document was designed for both professional educators and the general public. The second element was a resource guide for teachers entitled Education in the Primary and Junior Divisions, which stressed the different processes of the curriculum and described how best to achieve an integration of the expectations listed in the Circular P1J1 within the context of a child-centred curriculum. The other three elements of the package were: the production of "how-to" handbooks for teachers, the encouragement of local curriculum development along lines

[22] Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, Background Report to Reviews of National Policies for Education, Vol. IV Ontario, p. 11.

[23] Thomas Wells, "An Address," in the Proceedings of the 23rd Annual Conference of the Ontario Association for Curriculum Development, November, 1974, p. 6.

[24] Ibid., pp. 8-10.

demonstrated by the P1J1 document, and the provision of funds to cover expenditures incurred in meeting the professional-development needs of teachers created by the implementation of the new curriculum.

The introduction of the new guidelines has been perceived by some as being another setback to the progressive movement in Ontario education. Notwithstanding, possibly, the partial validity of the latter view, the new guidelines can also be regarded as providing an objective structure for curriculum construction and implementation, an element which is inherent in the educational philosophy propounded in both the Programme of Studies and Living and Learning. Most importantly, the people of Ontario seem to believe, judging from public opinion, that such a structure is necessary for the conduct of a sound elementary programme of education.

Concluding Remarks

By 1975, the progressive forces which had gained momentum in the late 1960's were decelerated and integrated within a more structured programme of instruction at all the divisional levels of the curriculum. This move was made in an effort to provide guidance and direction to a process of curriculum construction which had become quite decentralized in order to meet more adequately the local needs of students, teachers, and parents. As already mentioned, this development should not necessarily be construed as a setback, but as a further stage in the elaboration of the concept of progressivism in light of the ever changing circumstances and needs of Ontario society.